

THE EXAMINER.

"PROVE ALL THINGS; HOLD FAST THAT WHICH IS GOOD."

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PAUL SEYMOUR.

PUBLISHER.

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Thoughts on Emancipation—No. 23.

It is observed in my last that slavery would probably now have no existence in the United States, if the following Mosaic statute had not been utterly disregarded:— "He that stealeth a man and selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, he shall be surely put to death." It was likewise remarked that a servant who was manumitted by his master became immediately entitled to his freedom. In view of these two regulations it was argued that the analogy between the system of Hebrew servitude and the system of American slavery is altogether imperfect. There are other arrangements of the Mosaic law which deserve consideration. "Every seventh year" was to be "a Sabbath of rest unto the land, a Sabbath for the Lord." During this year the Israelite was neither to "sow his field, nor prune his vineyard." Servants were exempted from obligation to labor. Indeed there was no labor for them to perform, as the fields were not to be sown, nor the vineyards pruned. How long would slavery exist in America under the operation of such a regulation as this? Would not this perpetual arrangement be regarded as a serious interference with the supposed value of slave labor? Undoubtedly. And if so, this peculiarity of the Mosaic law cannot be appealed to in defence of modern slavery.

Servants, under the Jewish dispensation, were required to attend the national feasts. These were the feast of the Passover—the feast of Pentecost—and the feast of Tabernacles. Hence it is said, "Three times in a year shall all thy males appear before the Lord God." These festivals occupied twenty-two days, exclusive of the time required to go up to Jerusalem—make the necessary preparation for their observance—and the return home. There must, therefore, have been a suspension of servile labor several weeks every year. American slaveholders certainly would not fancy an arrangement of this kind. They would pronounce slave labor unprofitable, if their slaves, like Hebrew servants, were unemployed more than a fifth of their time, exclusive of Sabbath days. Surely I do not mistake in this opinion. If I do, why is it, that, on so many slave plantations, there is a "rush" in business from the crepuscular dawnings of Monday morning to the thickening shades of Saturday evening? How strange it is, that men refer to the Mosaic law in justification of slavery in the United States, when, if several of the Mosaic arrangements were practically recognized, they would lead to universal emancipation!

Under the Mosaic law a servant could not be sold. A Hebrew might buy a servant but he had no right to sell him. There is surely no intimation that the servant might be disposed of to satisfy the demands of the master's creditors. This is a practice common in the slave States of this Union, but it is repugnant to all the refined feelings of the heart. Husbands and wives torn from their parents and children separated forever! It is a scene upon which demons may look with gratification—but from which all virtuous intelligence may well turn and weep. Whatever may be said of Hebrew servitude, it is manifest that the tie which bound the members of a servile family together, was so strong that nothing but death could sever it. Would to heaven there was an analogous tie binding together slave families in America! But there is not. And as there is not, what is there in the Mosaic code to justify the slavery which is tolerated by this nation? Where is the analogy about which so much is said? Where?

A SOUTHERN KENTUCKIAN.

Contrast—Common Opinions—Error. Influence, &c.—Responsibility of all. Duty of all, &c.

Mr. Editor:—Slavery is the subject of remark in every department of society. Men converse about it freely, in the social circle and through wide differences obtain in some of the views they express, all unite in calling it an evil, a "leprous spot" on the virgin bosom of the Commonwealth.—"A cleaving cancer," from which, it is highly desirable we should be free.

A casual observer would infer from this universal condemnation of the system that Kentucky is ripe for emancipation, and that a few years will wipe away our reproach. But facts will not sustain such a conclusion. With a clear perception of the evils of slavery, is joined an indisposition to either think or act in direct and open hostility to it. There is a manifest want of coherence between the privately expressed wish to be free from it, and the indolent inaction by which it is suffered to continue and grow. But this want of coherence is still more palpable in the fact, which is made with a view to the ultimate removal of slavery. Those who occupy this position may have some unknown method of reconciling themselves with themselves—doubtless they have, but it is certainly, beyond the comprehension of ordinary intelligence and pity.

A common method by which they seek justification is to "divest themselves of influence, and say, 'we can do nothing.' If all would unite, there we could accomplish the end but what can I do?" This is the language of almost every man you meet whether slaveholder or non-slaveholder. Now, are they sincere in this profession? If so, why do they not strike hands, combine their efforts, and give us the consummation so devoutly wished for?

Why do they fail to second the active friends of emancipation in their arduous and perilous sacrifices? If sincere, why do they not halt the "Examiner," for example, as the morning star which presages the dawn of a brighter day, when the sun of freedom

Do they suppose a public opinion will grow up spontaneously, and operate the overthrow of the system? That moral truth will be known intuitively, and at the proper time, that all men will be prepared to act in concert? It cannot be possible they are such wild enthusiasts, such hopeless apostates from truth. Many of them honestly desire freedom to the slave, and justice to both slave and master, but see no practicable way by which these can be reached, and supposing everybody else as much in the dark on the subject as themselves refuse to examine the question in any other light than their own. The mass of the people consider themselves as divested of all responsibility, and say, "let those concerned in the matter attend to it, we have no slaves, and have nothing to do with it." This is a mistake that must be corrected before we shall make much progress in the work of emancipation. Every citizen of this Commonwealth is directly or indirectly connected with slavery, and his interests are all in some mode affected by it. The idea that they are free from responsibility because they do not own slaves is preposterous. Slavery is the creature of positive law; that law is the expressed will of the people, reversible at their pleasure. While, therefore, they patiently acquiesce in the law and put forth no effort to change it, they are responsible, and faithfully responsible! Not for the existence of slavery, it was here when we were born, and therefore, we are not in that regard responsible; but for its continual existence, for perpetuating it, entailing it upon those who are to come after us, involving our descendants in its meshes, as our fathers involved us! Here rests the responsibility, nor can we divest ourselves of it, but by an honest, strong-hearted purpose, to avail ourselves of all the aids we can obtain, and drawing them about us put forth our whole strength to overthrow this "abomination that makes desolate." It will not do for a man to say, "I know not what to do," when the means of knowing are within his reach—let him read, and think, and speak; above all, let him act as "one who does not give an account," not to interested men—not to an enraged multitude, but to those whose narrow policy never looks beyond their own possessions, but to Him, who "requirith truth in the inward part," who is "too pure to look upon iniquity," and who hath commanded, "therefore, all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them, for this is the law and the prophets." CLETON.

Under the Bridge, April 28, 1848.

Correspondence of the London Non-Resistant, Paris, March 14, 1848.

The French Republic—Paris: The Peace Deputation.

I regret that unlooked for circumstances have prevented until now, my fulfilment of the engagement I made previously to your departure from England, to give you readers an account of what might pass under my notice during my stay in Paris. It is not to be supposed that in little less than a week, one would be able to penetrate far beneath the surface of society, or to discover any of the hidden springs by which the movements here are for the moment regulated. But it may be interesting, nevertheless, to your readers to have a brief narrative, from the pen of any eye witness, of facts which have either been stirred over, or suppressed by the daily journals. I need hardly, therefore, apologize for throwing my remarks into the form of gossip.

I started, you are aware, on Wednesday night, half past eight, from the London-bridge station, for Dover, and went on board the Boulogne packet, about half-past eleven. Pitch darkness, heavy rain, and a gale of wind, would describe the weather. Happily, our passage did not exceed three hours—but they were any thing but short, or agreeable ones. No standing on deck unless with first-rate sea legs, and a skin impervious to water—no comfort below in the cabin crowded with passengers all of whom evinced distress in the rolling of the vessel. Thankful enough was I when the steward informed me that we had entered the Boulogne harbor. Although without a passport I managed to get on immediately so as to join the mail train at Neufchâtel, about seven miles from Boulogne—not, however, without a variation of discomfort. The cab which I hired to take me to the railroad I soon found to be without windows. The cushions of the seats were soaked with rain, and with all the ingenuity I could exercise, I could not put myself into a corner in which tolerable protection from wind and wet could be enjoyed. I had, however, to pay enormously for my haste.

Once in the train, I felt myself once more at ease. I overtook my fellow travellers at Amiens, and we reached Paris about eleven o'clock on Thursday morning. Before our arrival, signs of the recent disturbances became visible. Two or three station-houses gutted and charred by fire, fences broken up, electric telegraph cut off, and things of the like order, told a tale of revolutionary violence. From the Paris station to the Hotel, these signs became more frequent. The rough state of the pavement at the corner of every street indicated the reversion of barricades—and the words *Liberte, Egalite, Fraternite*, already painted in conspicuous letters upon every public building that we passed, showed on which side victory had proclaimed itself. Here, then, we were, within a fortnight, in the heart of a city which had upset a dynasty, and expelled a monarch, to commend to a brave people the doctrine of peace, and to congratulate upon the subversion of tyranny. All was as tranquil as ever—the streets quiet—the shops open—the people looking, some gay, some busy—and but for the appearance here and there of a national guard in a dirty blouse with many bearing rather than a military one, no person could have read in the aspect of the people a single trace of the eventful past.

I visited most of the scenes of the late conflict. It is surprising how little mischief has been done. The damage inflicted upon the exterior of the Tuileries and Palais Royal is chiefly such as the glazier can repair. The guard-house opposite the latter is burnt, and nothing but the stone walls, started all over with bullets, remain standing. On the Boulevard the stumps of many fine trees, felled for barricades, made us regret that these ornaments of Paris have been destroyed which it will take many long years to replace. Lamp-posts seen, in most of the great thoroughfares, to have been

wrenched from the perpendicular—seats and benches to have been torn up. I was informed that very much of the mischief was done in sport by lads and boys. Beyond this, however, and the destruction of the furniture of the Tuileries and Palais Royal, property has been magnanimously respected. There was no pillage—scarcely a theft. Indeed the Parisian mob has exhibited some features of true greatness. A gentleman informed me that, on the critical Thursday, he saw a crowd round the door of a jeweller in one of the principal streets. They were seeking arms. They had knocked at the door without effect. They burst it open. The inmates had fled. A large assortment of valuable jewelry was in the window and on the counters. The absence of the proprietor was no sooner ascertained than a lad, *en blouse*, with a drawn sabre in his hand, advanced to the door from the middle of the crowd, and said, "Gentlemen respect the property of the citizens." At that door he kept guard for several hours, until the master of the house returned. Not an article was missing. This is but one fact, but it is a fair sample, I am told, of hundreds that could be narrated.

Saturday, half-past three o'clock, was the time appointed by the Provisional Government for the reception of the deputation. General A. Condorcet O'Connor, a veteran Republican, upwards of eighty years of age, consented to accompany the deputation. We started about three o'clock for the Hotel de Ville, in two carriages—Messrs. O'Connor, Sturge, and Alexander in the first—Messrs. Bradshaw, Norris, and Miall in the second. The place before the Hotel was occupied by crowds of loiterers and *outriers*, who, however, courteously made way for us. As we ascended the grand staircase, we saw some signs of republican simplicity which some of our aristocrats might have looked upon with a sneer. On the first landing stood a national guard, with his musket shouldered and his bayonet fixed, in the dress of a workman—a tarnished snuff-box, a "shocking bad hat," and face and hands quite innocent of soap and water. On the top landing were some others in uniform, playing cards, and actually smoking. The first ante-chamber was crowded. Two or three separate deputations, and amongst them that of the English residents, were there, waiting their turn for admission to the presence of the Provisional Government. As a mark of distinction, however, we were taken first. The folding doors were thrown open, and the residents and ourselves entered a second ante-chamber; then, other doors were opened, and we passed into an apartment, gorgeously furnished, in which stood the Ministry. I recognised Lamartine instantly. He has the stamp of the poet on his countenance—and his air is that of a perfect gentleman. Cremieux was there, but he soon retired to another part of the chamber. Louis Blanc struck me as a boy—he is very short of stature, and juvenile in his countenance. Marast, Mayor of Paris, was present; and Flocon. After salutation, General O'Connor explained the circumstances out of which had arisen this visit of congratulation. By the request of Lamartine, Mr. Joseph Sturge read, with emphasis, the address which you have already inserted. I watched its effect upon Lamartine and Marast. Both seemed to understand it well, to catch its points, and to appreciate its spirit. They were evidently much gratified. At the conclusion of the reading Lamartine addressed us in French. The fluency of his language and the grace of his oratory, greatly struck me. You will have already inserted a translation of his speech, so that I need not give it here. So far as one could judge from the manner, the Secretary for Foreign Affairs was quite in earnest; and peace with England appears to be an object with him of sincere desire. I was not surprised at this, so far as he is concerned. His wife is an English lady, and he has many sympathies with England. But did not anticipate from Marast, the late editor of the National, so marked a concurrence in pacific sentiments. His eyes glistened at some parts of the address, and he nodded approval so apparently sincere and pleasurable that I would have hoped his anti-English furor has vanished forever. I was sorry to notice that all the Ministers, but especially Lamartine, looked worn and jaded with incessant work.

We had some conversation with other gentlemen during our stay—Messrs. Sturge and Alexander, with M. Arago, Minister of Marine, who told them that the moment he heard of the recognition of the republic by the British Government, he countermanded all the orders he had given for increasing the naval armaments of the country. M. Passy and M. Isambert, too, called upon us—the first somewhat desponding, the last hopeful. M. Passy, however, admitted that the five or six millions of small land proprietors will make as honest a constituency as any in the world.

I will now, in brief, give you my view of the state of things in France. Much is to be hoped—something to be feared. The bulk of society is conservatively inclined—that is, they acquiesce in a change which they would not have sought, desire the maintenance of peace, and will make no little sacrifice for the restoration of order. Just at present it strikes me that the moving power is that of a small minority, is Parisian rather than French, and is more closely allied with the mob than the people. Such is one of the immediate penalties a country has always to pay for accomplishing political changes by physical force. I am, however, sanguine in my expectation, that, despite the dictatorial violence of M. Ledru Rollin, and the absurd schemes of Louis Blanc, a National Assembly will be returned, such as will give supremacy to the wiser and more conciliating policy of Lamartine and Arago. There seems to be little doubt that the vast majority of members will be sincere Republicans—as little, that they will dispense with the services of some of the almost unknown, but violent men who have snuggled themselves into prominent positions in connection with the Provisional Government. Paris will probably have to pass through many crises of uneasiness before affairs settle down into a permanent state—but everything, I think, indicates that the restoration of royalty is the most unlikely of all events which can be hidden in the lap of the future.

Many people appear to be alarmed lest the scenes of the first French Revolution should be repeated—and our daily organs are continually pointing their suspicions that way. I do not believe it probable. France was then choked into madness by foreign intervention. It warred, too, against overbearing and grinding aristocracy, and an intolerant and most oppressive church. No foreign power is likely to interfere with its affairs just now—all are too much occupied at home. There is no aristocracy, cast off—no established church to humble, but the working class may cause some disquiet—but the more intelligent section of them will soon see through the fallacy of theories which serve only to kill the goose that lays golden eggs. That they are, in the main, honest, forbearing, magnanimous, has been seen—and, for their expulsion of English fellow-laborers, we could render an unequal tribute of admiration to the spirit they have displayed, much as we deplore the mistakes into which they have been seduced. On the whole, then, I am hopeful. The times have advanced. Spring has burst upon Europe somewhat sooner than a few weeks back, I had anticipated. Every lover of human progress will pray for the success of the great experiment now going on across the Straits. It will put forward the clock of the world by many degrees. For myself, I am a firm believer in the onward destiny of nations. But if I had no other reason for wishing well to France, my hurried visit to this capital would have engaged my warmest wishes on her behalf. I came unexpectedly—I leave with some regret—and during the interval I have seen enough to awaken in me the liveliest interest in the people of this great republic. May they realize the full meaning of their glorious motto, "*Liberte, Egalite, Fraternite*!" EDWARD MIALL.

St. Cremieux, the Israelite.

This celebrated Jewish advocate is one of the ablest orators of the Provisional Government of the French Republic. He was a member of the 1840 of the great anti-slavery Convention held in London, at which were present delegates from nearly all parts of the world. Mr. Whittier, in the last number of the National Era, reports the following remarks as having been made by him on that occasion:—"In this assembly of Christians," said he, "I, a Jew, demand the complete abolition of servitude. My enthusiasm for the great cause of human slavery, proclaim equality; it is a noble and glorious mission. The glory of this mission belongs to two great nations, long divided by war, now uniting in the cause of the world's civilization. The words of England and France will be heard by the world. How sublimely have they been re-echoed already from that very Republic of America where so many private interests oppose the emancipation of the blacks! How many generous hearts are there beating for the sacred interests of humanity! See the representatives in this hall, uniting with those of France and England. Yes, we shall attain the object of our wishes. The holy alliance—the alliance of the words of England and France—the abolition of human slavery, who can resist? This is the happiest day of my existence; I shall dwell with delight on the recollection that I have been permitted to give utterance to my sentiments in an assembly like the present, and from this moment my life will acquire in my eyes more consistency and more real importance."

Since the publication of the decree of the Provisional Government, announcing the preparatory steps to the complete emancipation of French slaves, it was waited on by a deputation of colored persons, with an address of thanks for this act of Republican justice. M. Cremieux replied to them as follows:—"Fellow-citizens, friends, brothers—I am happy to hail you in the name of the Provisional Government of the Republic, every part of which has entered into the grand project of emancipating such of your fellow-countrymen as still remain in slavery. Slavery, slavery in the midst of liberty! Why, this is the most odious, the most affecting inconsistency. Distinctions of color, of race, of religion, are abolished by the law of God and man. (Loud applause.) We have only proclaimed the principles which dwell in the hearts of all mankind. Yes, the national constitution—that grand, that immortal charter, will remain as long as France exists, but the error of a great man again placed you under the yoke which you had believed was broken forever."

You, who having been slaves, had become free, and were now in the ranks of the army, restored to you such great and important services—you, yourselves were cast back into servitude! The new Republic will accomplish what the Republic of 1792 proclaimed. You shall gain the right to vote, and you shall be free on the soil of liberty. In our colonies as well as in continental France, every man who inhabits the land shall be free. You will prove yourselves worthy of it, for you ever have been so. And have-did not you, who were once slaves, your descendants will exult with pride—that the revolution of 1848 that the final abolition of slavery was due. Vive la Republique!" This was re-echoed by repeated cries of "Vive la Republique! Vive le gouvernement provisoire!"

Later from Yucatan.

The U. S. schooner Falcon, John E. Glasgow, Lieutenant commanding, and Wm. E. Hopkins, Acting Lieutenant, returned from Campeche, whence he sailed on the 31st inst.

Lieut. Glasgow has brought over important despatches for the Government at Washington, which will be forwarded to the Secretary of State. He is favored by him with papers, &c., for which he has our acknowledgments. The instruction of the Indians in the State of Yucatan presents now an apparently dreadful and calls for immediate relief. Death and fire mark the progress of the Indians. Every town, hacienda, and village is laid waste by fire. The inhabitants are fleeing to the northern coast. Those who fall into the hands of the savages are tortured to death. Some thousands have taken shelter in the forests of Yucatan, and are now suffering from lack of food. The coast between Boca de Camil and Sisal is locked with men, women and children from the interior, laid down by the savages, and their way in the direction of Sisal, and embarking, as opportunities offer, for Campeche.

From three to four thousand passed, in the course of a few days, the village of Sisal, on the coast, and taking the beach as the safest way. They are in a starved, miserable and hopeless condition; and, as remarkable as it may appear, they are reduced to extreme want, and that too in a country where plenty has always existed. The wealthy families are reduced to poverty, and many are seeking refuge in the forests. The Falcon was despatched to the coast to assist in embarking the people. One hundred and twenty were received on board, and taken to Campeche. They were from Valladolid, and fled at the destruction of it to Sisal. It was said that 25,000 people from the interior had taken refuge in Campeche. The most serious danger was the taken taken to great every village and canoe to the immediate relief of the people along the coast, in order to embark them without delay, as the latest information represented the Indians in from seven to nine leagues of the coast about Sisal.

The Indian force is variously estimated to be from fifty to fifty thousand, and they have from five to six thousand with arms. The following parts of the country have been ravaged by the savages. The district of Valladolid, composed of one hundred and seventeen haciendas, and one hundred and fifteen ranchos. The district of Tulum, composed of one large town, 17 villages, 35 haciendas, and 170 ranchos. The district of Espita, composed of 7 villages, 37 haciendas, and 215 ranchos. The district of Comala, composed of 18 villages, 77 haciendas, and 72 ranchos. The district of Peto, composed of one large town, 29 villages, 47 haciendas, and 217 ranchos. The district of Bacala, composed of five villages, 4 haciendas, and 27 ranchos. The district of Tixca, composed of 7 villages, 11 haciendas, and 289 ranchos. The district of Tixmal, composed of 1 village and various haciendas and ranchos, the numbers of which are not known. The district of Tixmal, composed of 3 villages and various haciendas and ranchos. The district of Hopelchen, composed of various ranchos.—N. O. Pizarro, 12th inst.

Address of John A. McClung, Esq. (Continued.)

At the census of 1830, in North Carolina, the slaves had increased upon the whites 7 per cent., in Kentucky 11.4 per cent., in Missouri, 41 per cent. The relative violence of the change may, therefore, be somewhat less indicated by the figures 9, 14, 9 and 91. No doubt great allowance should be made for the rapid growth of Missouri, and the nearly stationary condition of North Carolina; but after all due weight is given to that circumstance, the difference is very remarkable. The following tables are copied from the census returns:

	1790	1800	1810	1820	1830	1840
N. Carolina—Whites	100,000	110,000	120,000	130,000	140,000	150,000
Slaves	10,000	11,000	12,000	13,000	14,000	15,000
Kentucky—Whites	100,000	110,000	120,000	130,000	140,000	150,000
Slaves	10,000	11,000	12,000	13,000	14,000	15,000
Missouri—Whites	100,000	110,000	120,000	130,000	140,000	150,000
Slaves	10,000	11,000	12,000	13,000	14,000	15,000

Now upon an examination of the returns of Arkansas, lying immediately South of Missouri, of Tennessee lying South of Kentucky, and of South Carolina, which is protected on her northern frontier by the Old North State, we find them entirely unaffected by the great changes which have occurred North of them. In all of these States the slave race is still increasing more rapidly than the white, and has done so as far back as we have any account of their population. So slight, partial, and temporary are the exceptions to a broad general rule, that in all States South of Kentucky and North Carolina, the slave race has always, and does yet, increase more rapidly than the whites, that it may with confidence be regarded as a fixed and general law. Out of thirty-one enumerations of population in these States, there are three which show a slight increase of the whites over the blacks, and twenty-eight which show the reverse in marked and striking characters. These three exceptions were local and temporary, and cannot shake the general rule, which rests upon causes well understood, and which have of ten been elucidated.

I have said that the last stage of slavery was naturally closed by a legislative act of emancipation. That this has been the case in the States north of Mason and Dixon's line will not be disputed and need not be shown. Whether the same result may or may not be expected in the northern slave States, is a question upon which different opinions may be expected to exist. But if such a result were to occur, we would mutually suppose, from the remarkable regularity which has marked the other stages of the movement, that Delaware would take the lead, that Maryland would follow, and that Virginia, Missouri and Kentucky, would succeed. Now it is well known, that less than two years ago, a bill for the emancipation of her slaves, passed one branch of the Delaware Legislature, and was arrested in the Senate by a single vote. That her Representative in Congress, during the last winter, was seen voting upon the Wilmut Proviso with the northern members against the south in broken array, and without distinction of parties, and that for all practical purposes Delaware is now to be regarded as essentially a free State.—Assuming that an act of emancipation will pass the Delaware Legislature in the year 1850, and that the same intervals of time will mark the last act, which have distinguished the preceding stages in the several States, the great problem of the duration of slavery in the frontier States, would be easily solved. Maryland would then pass an act of emancipation in 1870; Virginia in 1890; Kentucky, Missouri and North Carolina about the year 1910—unless the rapid movement of Missouri should cause her to outstrip her sisters and anticipate the usual period. I will readily admit, however, that such a prediction, however amusing to the fancy, and however possible in its accomplishment, would rest upon no such secure and immovable basis, as does the great proposition which I have endeavored to illustrate, to-wit: that slavery is not permanent in the northern slave States, but is slowly receding in a Southern direction, and if time be allowed, will disappear from our borders. There are in the natural as well as in the moral world, great and slow movements, both of recession and advance, often continued through centuries of change, which arrest the eye of the Naturalist and Philosopher, and the final result of which is confidently predicted long before it is clearly unfolded to the busy masses of mankind. No naturalist hesitates with absolute certainty to declare, that the buffalo, the beaver, and the Indian races, are drawing near the close of their career, and are destined in a few brief years to disappear forever. Their recession from east to west commenced nearly three centuries ago, when the bark of the Pilgrim race first grated upon the Plymouth sands. The wild barbaric chivalry which now chases the buffalo, or follows the war path over the boundless prairies of the far west, once roamed upon the banks of the Delaware and drank of the mountain sources of the Hudson. The faded race of the Anglo-Saxon came over the blue waters from the distant east, and from that moment the death knell of the indigenous tribes was rung mournfully in the ear of the world. No human power, not the combined armies and navies of christendom, no paper protests, or legislative enactments, can arrest the melancholy march of the Indian race to their ocean grave in the far west. Their retreat from the Atlantic to the Pacific shore, running through three centuries of time, and illustrated by the heroism of King Philip and Tecumseh, will live in the annals of the world, but all else will perish. Even now, in the language of the Prophet of Old, we may say, "their time is near to come, and their days shall not be prolonged." No less distinct, although of far later origin, is the recession of the Spanish and the advance of the Anglo-Saxon race from North to South. This has been slowly progressing for fifty years, and, as early as 1832, had developed itself so distinctly, that the profound and far-seeing De Toqueville predicted the events of the last few years almost with the minute accuracy of a history of the past. For good or for evil, for weal or woe, the Anglo-Saxon race advances westward and southward with a haughty step which no paper barrier can arrest, and the Indian and Mexican retreat before him, perishing as they recede. Not less distinctly marked, but with a step more noiseless and slow, is that great combined moral and physical recession which I have endeavored to illustrate. There is a steady

ness along a vastly extended line, a slow, sullen, massive regularity, which suggests the idea of vast power, and fixed and immutable purpose. It bears no resemblance, it respects no prejudice, it regards no boundary, it pauses for no obstacle. Day and night, summer and winter, with a step that never tires, yet which never seems to move, it still rolls on through granite and steel to its far destiny in the distant south. What is that destiny and where is the home which nature has provided for this slow and sullen wanderer? Shall he dwell for long centuries among the sugar canes of Louisiana and Texas? Shall he pitch his tent in the marshy and death-grimed islands of the West Indian seas? Shall he gradually mingle with the swarthy bands of Mexico, and share with them the long and disastrous retreat through centuries of hopeless contest to the distant shores of the Amazon and Orinoco? Or like the crew of the fabled Phantom ship, shall he be

do! Sixty-two thousand free blacks in Maryland! Fifty thousand in Virginia, and seventeen thousand in little Delaware, all increasing more rapidly than the whites. Kentucky and Missouri, following rapidly in their wake, with a pace decidedly accelerated every year. Why, in fifty or a hundred years the evil would become intolerable. Shall we drive them from us? Where shall we drive them? westward on Missouri, eastward on Virginia, northward on Ohio, or southward on Tennessee. Will Ohio give them shelter and a home? John Randolph's negroes most eloquently respond to the enquiry. Shall we put them to the sword, as an enemy in our midst, which we cannot propitiate, and drive not set at liberty? Let us look around and see if humanity cannot suggest a less desperate remedy. There is upon the western coast of the African continent, a vast tract of fertile territory, capable of furnishing subsistence to 50,000,000 of men. It is thinly tenanted by barbarous tribes of negroes, whose grade of civilization is about equal to that of the Indian in his wildest state. Here is the natural cradle of the negro race. Here he was originally planted by the Creator, and from this coast he was torn by violence more than 300 years ago. Nature has given to the negro a constitution, adapted to its burning sun and deadly night-dew, but the white man sickens and dies where the negro thrives and prospers. The great author of nature, who has created such an infinite variety of plants and animals, has generally assigned to each a local habitation, and a home, adapted to its nature, from which, if left to itself, it will rarely wander. The natural habitation of the negro is under the African tropical sun.

To these questions I have at present no answer. The task which I undertook was far more simple and easy. I asserted that slavery was slowly retreating to the South, and I have proved it. That a revolution has begun in all of the frontier slave States, and is nearly complete in some, I have shown, as I think, by indisputable facts. That this revolution is destined to go forward and not backward in the States where it has commenced, I have not a shadow of doubt. To what new States it may be extended, or whether it will be extended to any, is a question which I leave entirely untouched.

My second proposition is so easily established, and so universally admitted, by all who have examined the subject, that but for the sake of displaying the enormity of the evil which threatens us, I should not dwell upon it at all. As it is, I will briefly point out a few leading features connected with it, and pass on to the last subject, which I have undertaken to illustrate.

Of the myriads of free negroes which encumber the free States, I shall say nothing. I will merely advert to this class as it exists in the frontier slave States. In Delaware, although the slaves since 1790 have decreased from 8,887 to 2,603, yet in Delaware there were nearly 17,000 free negroes in 1840, and at that time, they had increased in a ratio nearly five times greater than the whites. In Maryland, although the slaves had decreased in 30 years, from 111,502 to 89,737, yet the free blacks had increased from about 33,000 to 63,078, and the ratio of their increase had been greatly more rapid than the whites. In Virginia, the free blacks had increased from about 12,000 in 1790, to about 50,000 in 1840, and the ratio of their increase until 1840 was generally double that of the whites; in 1840 it was slightly less. In Kentucky, the free blacks have increased from 114 in 1790 to 7,317 in 1840. Between 1830 and 1840, the whites in Kentucky had increased about 14 per cent., while the free blacks had increased about 49 per cent. In the census of 1830 the whites in Kentucky had increased 19 per cent., while the free blacks had increased 78 per cent. It is worthy of remark that the free blacks are increasing in Kentucky, with a rapidity immensely greater than that with which they increase in Tennessee, and that in Missouri the ratio of their increase is immensely superior to that of Kentucky. In the six States which we have denominated the Northern slave States, there were in 1840, 160,502 free blacks, whose ratio of increase, if Missouri be omitted, was double that of the whites in the same States, and including Missouri, was still considerably more rapid than that of the whites. I am aware that the natural ratio of increase of the free blacks in the Northern States is greatly inferior to that of the whites, and that in the South it is inferior to that of the slaves. I am also aware that it is the constant accession which the free blacks of Kentucky receive from continued emancipation, which swells their number so rapidly. The same cause no doubt contributes to swell the ratio of increase in the other frontier slave States. But this does not in the slightest degree lessen the danger arising from the rapidity with which they are increasing. Unless counteracted by powerful and stringent legislation, of a character which can hardly be maintained for a long time, the free blacks of Kentucky must for many years continue to increase far more rapidly than the whites. Maryland, Delaware and Virginia, are absolutely flooded, and Kentucky is following in their footsteps with a rapidity, which will soon cause her to look around for a remedy. What shall she do? Instruct them, Christianize them, convert them into good, enlightened, and industrious citizens! Alas! the dream of Abon Hassan, in the Arabian tale, was not more vain and unachievable. Take away from man all that is lofty and ennobling in his nature, the love of praise, the deathless thirst for renown, the ambition that impels, the hope that cheers, the desire to be loved, to be admired, to live in the memory of his fellows, and what do you leave him? Why you leave him the base emotion of fear, and the low passion for the gratification of his animal appetites! What shall stimulate the emancipated slave in Kentucky, to noble exertion? In what walk, profession or calling, shall he seek to rise to honor? Where is the high hope, that is to cheer him in the long struggle of life? Will all the virtues of humanity united in his single person, lift him to a social level with the humblest of the white race? Will temperance and self-denial, unblemished integrity, daring courage, and lofty genius, cause his color and race to be forgotten, and lift him to a level with the mighty and noble of the land? The convict, discharged from the penitentiary, may hope one day to rise to honor, for he may change his name and his place, and none may recognize him as the condemned felon, who was disgraced. But where is the fountain in which the emancipated slave can wash away the damning mark, which consigns him to infamy and contempt. He is driven with scorn from every walk of honorable ambition. Not for him is the bar of the pulpit, the favor of the people, the soldier's renown, or the scholar's wreath. What then shall he do? Why let him eat and drink like the dog or wolf, and let him sleep away, if he can, the memory of his degradation. The question is not, what shall he do, but what shall we

do! Sixty-two thousand free blacks in Maryland! Fifty thousand in Virginia, and seventeen thousand in little Delaware, all increasing more rapidly than the whites. Kentucky and Missouri, following rapidly in their wake, with a pace decidedly accelerated every year. Why, in fifty or a hundred years the evil would become intolerable. Shall we drive them from us? Where shall we drive them? westward on Missouri, eastward on Virginia, northward on Ohio, or southward on Tennessee. Will Ohio give them shelter and a home? John Randolph's negroes most eloquently respond to the enquiry. Shall we put them to the sword, as an enemy in our midst, which we cannot propitiate, and drive not set at liberty? Let us look around and see if humanity cannot suggest a less desperate remedy. There is upon the western coast of the African continent, a vast tract of fertile territory, capable of furnishing subsistence to 50,000,000 of men. It is thinly tenanted by barbarous tribes of negroes, whose grade of civilization is about equal to that of the Indian in his wildest state. Here is the natural cradle of the negro race. Here he was originally planted by the Creator, and from this coast he was torn by violence more than 300 years ago. Nature has given to the negro a constitution, adapted to its burning sun and deadly night-dew, but the white man sickens and dies where the negro thrives and prospers. The great author of nature, who has created such an infinite variety of plants and animals, has generally assigned to each a local habitation, and a home, adapted to its nature, from which, if left to itself, it will rarely wander. The natural habitation of the negro is under the African tropical sun.

[To be Continued.]

TO PRESERVE WATER IN SEA-CASKS AND CISTERNS.—Water may be preserved quite pure, either in long voyages, or in cisterns, by the addition of about three pounds of black oxide of manganese powder, stir it well together, and the water will lose any bad taste it may have acquired, and will keep for an indefinite length of time.

(Christian Almanac, 1843.)

Michigan Commerce.

The Detroit Advertiser states that a million barrels of flour, and nearly 20,000,000 bushels of wheat were exported from that State last year besides 1,000,000 pounds of wool and other products.

RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

METHODIST CHURCH SOUTH.—"The authorities of the city of Charleston, S. C., have prohibited the sale of the 'Discipline of the Methodist Church South,' because it retains a section of the general discipline of the Church, which testifies to the 'great evil of slavery,' and inquires how it may be 'extirpated.' The Conference of the State does not acquiesce." We find the above paragraph going the rounds of the papers, and know not its truth or falsity. We hope, however, that it is not true. Such extreme sensitiveness on the subject of slavery is only calculated to expose the possession of it to the contempt of a sensible and patriotic people. It is a feeling to which the earlier citizens of the slave States were entire strangers, and which we happen to know possesses the minds of but a very small portion of them now.

A REMARKABLE MEETING.—The following notice